

TWO PAPERS,

On the SUBJECT of

T A X I N G

THE

BRITISH COLONIES

IN

A M E R I C A.

The FIRST entitled,

Some REMARKS on the most rational and
effectual Means that can be used in the
present Conjuncture for the future Security and Preservation of the Trade of *Great-Britain*, by protecting and advancing her Settlements on the North
Continent of America."

The OTHER,

A PROPOSAL for establishing by Act of
Parliament the Duties upon Stampt Paper and Parchment in all the British
American Colonies."

LONDON:

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THE following Papers were drawn up by a Club of American Merchants; at the Head of whom were Sir WILLIAM KEITH, Governor of Pensylvania; the celebrated Mr. JOSHUA GEE, and many other eminent Persons. They were printed and published in the Year 1739, and are now re-printed and re-published entire, that the World may fee what were the Sentiments and Doctrines, at that Time, of the greatest Friends to America, and of those who were best acquainted with the Rights and Commercial Interest of the Colonies; particularly with regard to the Establishment of Stamp-Duties in America, by the Parliament of Great-Britain, and the Application of the Revenue arifing therefrom; in both which Respects, the

Plan contained in these Papers agrees exactly

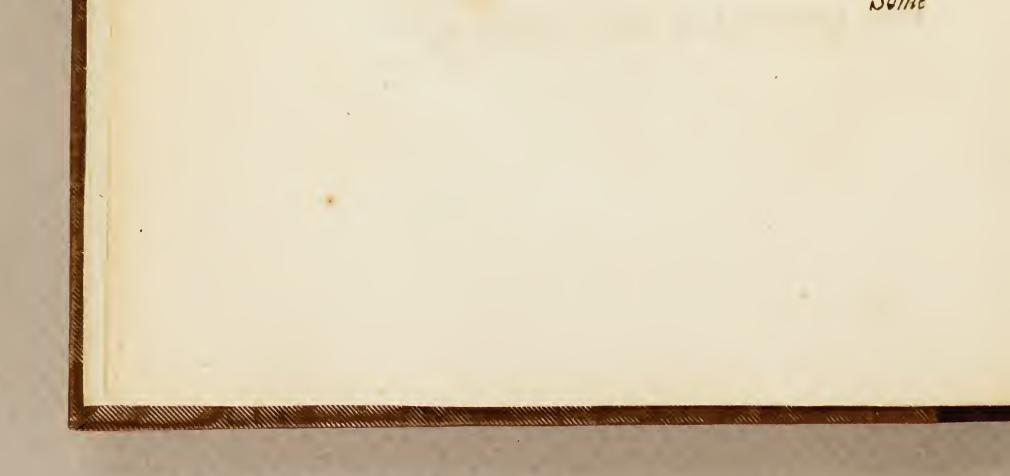
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exactly with the Stamp-Act repealed during the laft Seffion of Parliament. By comparing these Papers, which were printed near thirty Years ago, with the Doctrines lately broached in America, and now publicly avowed here by Ministers of State for the first Time, the Reader may be enabled to form some Judgment of the Merit or Demerit which those who have supported or resisted them have had to the King, the Parliament, and the People of Great-Britain; and it is therefore hoped, that the Publication of them cannot be thought improper at this Juncture.





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Some REMARKS on the most rational and effectual Means that can be used in the present Conjuncture for the future Security and Preservation of the Trade of Great Britain, by protecting and advancing her Settlements on the North Continent of America.

**** HE Incroachments and confi-VE T & derable Advantages which of *** late Yearshave been made, especially by France, on the British Commerce every where, but more particularly in the West Indies, by Means of that Nation's having the Preference to furnish the Spaniards with all they want in those Parts, and confequently to ingross an immoderate Share of that Wealth or Bullion which is the Support of all European Trade, is a Matter of such Consequence, as calls for our immediate and most sedate Deliberation ; because, unless we can either bring the Spanish Nation into that Freedom of Commerce with B

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with us again, as they have formerly been accuftomed to, and would naturally chufe, or by fome particular Industry fecure to Ourfelves all those Advantages which can be made in Trade, by carefully protecting and encouraging our many extenfive and valuable Settlements in America, it will in all Appearance be impossible for Great Britain much longer to fustain that Rank, which she has now held for almost two Centuries amongst her European Neighbours.

With great Deference and Submiffion therefore to whatever the Councils of *Great Britain* may think fit in the prefent Juncture of Time to determine, with regard to Peace or War, it is humbly proposed only, that some little Care should be immediately taken to put our Colonies, especially in the Continent of North America, in a proper Condition either to defend themselves against any Attacks that can be made on them in War, or to

protect and duly encourage their lawful Commerce in Time of Peace. For this Purpofe, if we pleafe to confider first the Situation of the British Colonies,

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Colonies*, with respect to their Rivals in America, and how the French have most indefatigably carried on their Friendship and Correspondence with the Natives all along bordering upon and behind our Settlements, from Quebeck to the Mouth of the River Missippi in the Gulf of Mexico; fo that our Indian Traders are continually obstructed from travelling Westward on the Lakes by a Multitude of little Forts, erected at proper Dif-. tances, and filled with French Soldiers to protect their own, and interrupt our Commerce that Way; by which Means the vast and numerous Nations of Indians to the Westward are wholly deprived from the Opportunity of dealing with the English, notwithstanding that we can afford all the Commodities, they want at above 150 per Cent. cheaper than what they pay to our Rivals : And next, if we do but examine the vast Disproportion of Numbers between Us and Them, as well as the much greater Va-

riety of Commodities wherewith We B 2 can

* Vid. A Report to the Lords of Trade from the Gowernor of Penfylvania, February 1718. can more readily supply that Trade, and the prodigious Spirit and Inclination in our People to carry it on, nothing furely but infatuation can suffer us to delay one Moment in raising such a small Number of Regular Troops, to be constantly employed there, as would maintain our unquestionable Right to the vacant Lands on the Back of our own Settlements, encourage the Progress of our Plantations Westward, and thereby eafily open to Ourselves a free Correspondence with those vast and populous Nations of Indians, to whom, merely for lack of the common Means of Access to them, we are at prefent altogether Strangers.

So very important is the Nature of this Subject juft now, that in cafe of a War, if our Settlements fhould continue in that weak and helplefs Condition they are now, to lie exposed to the Infults and Attacks of the Enemy, without the Protection of any Kind of Fortifications either before or behind them, and without the Aid of any other Troops but a loofe, diforderly, and infignificant Militia, furely we can expect nothing elfe

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else but such Desolation and Ruin, as the Industry of many Years to come will not be able to repair.

Wherefore it is humbly proposed, that a small Body of Regular Troops be immediately raifed for that Service on the North Continent of America, to be commanded and difposed of all along the Western Frontier of our Settlements there, by an experienced General Officer under the Crown, independent on the particular Orders of the respective Governors, yet to be affisted by them in Council on every emergent Occasion: The Refolutions from Time to Time, and whole Proceedings of which General Council to be constantly transmitted and laid before the King in his Privy Council, as the dernier Refort and fupreme Authority in all Affairs relating to the Plantations; some such Regulation as this, it is humbly conceived, would effectually prevent all or most of the Dangers and Losses, we have, as Matters now stand, but too just Cause to apprehend, and at the fame Time it would give such Protection and Encouragement to

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to all manner of Business in the Plantations, as would greatly please the People Abroad, and likewife bring confiderable Profit to the Merchant at Home; fo that there is good Reason to expect the British Subjects in America, for whose immediate Advantage and particular Service this Scheme is chiefly defigned, would on that Account chearfully comply with any moderate and eafy Tax that could be laid on them for fo good and neceffary a Purpose; on Condition however that all the Money to be fo levied amongst them should be punctually and strictly applied to this Service, and no other: From all which we presume to affirm, that if the Duty on Stamps was, by Act of Parliament, now established in all the British Colonies, and that the Product of that Revenue was, by the fame Authority, strictly appropriated to the Service of those Plantations only, it would most certainly answer the proposed End, for the Encouragement and Protection of Commerce, and, thereby, the true Service and Honour of the British Nation; all which is most humbly submitted to the Confideration

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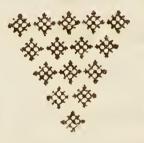
Confideration and Judgment of our Superiors.

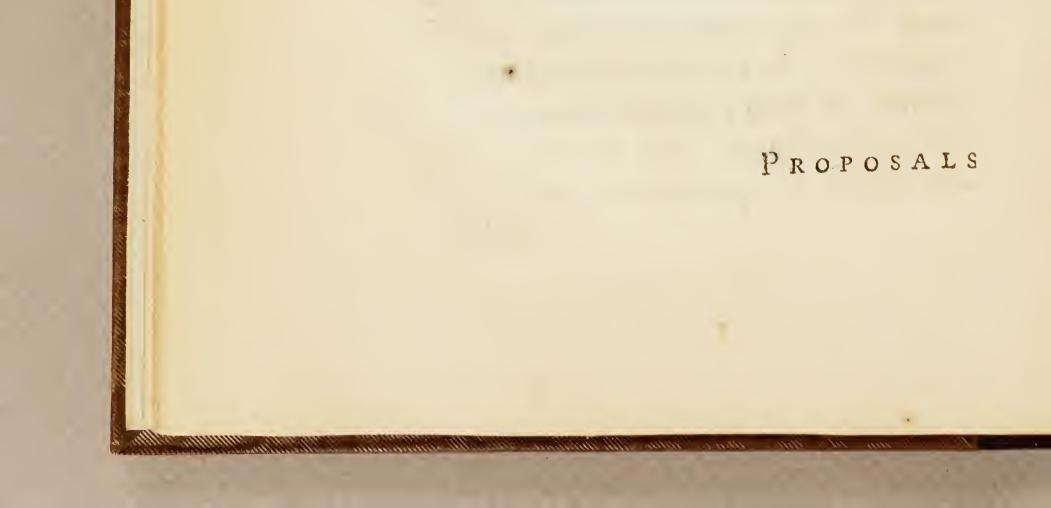
Much has been faid and wrote of late about the Decay of the Woollen Manufactory; but, without entering into the particular and various Reasons, how that Staple has suffered, and been reduced from the very flourishing Condition it was in a few Years ago, it will certainly be more prudent, and therefore eligible, to discover and encourage a new Vent for the Woollen Manufactory of Great Britain, than to strain our Invention otherways, by contending with those Advantages, which our Rivals have obtained by fuch Industry and Management, as we can neither interrupt nor prevent.

Suppofing, then, that by due Encouragement to the Colonies, efpecially on the Continent of America, we should proportionably increase a constant Demand for our coarse Woollens, which is allowed to be the Bulk of that Manufacture, we shall thereby secure a certain and profitable Vent for that valuable Staple, independent of all Foreign Nations,

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Nations, and in Despite of any Arts they can possibly use to obstruct us; which Confideration alone is sufficient to demonstrate the important Advantage, which must accrue to Britain by protecting, encouraging, and extending her Plantations on the Continent of America.





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PROPOSAL for establishing by Act of Parliament the Duties upon Stampt Paper and Parchment in all the British American Colonies.

THE Contiguous Situation of the British Colonies on the Coast of the Northern Continent of America, is not only a very great Advantage to the Trade of Britain, but likewise has of late Years produced such an Increase of Inhabitants, as has rendered them vassly Superior in Strength of People, when compared either with the French or Spamish Settlements on the same Continent; so that under a wise and good Regulation of Government, Britain has little to fear from her Rivals in America, and may easily provide for the Safety and Protection of her Dominions there without the

Trouble of frequent Equipments, or expensive Expeditions from Europe.

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But as the Policy of the British State, has wifely divided those Settlements into many separate Governments independent on one another, whereby they cannot be forced into any Union of Councils, or otherways deprived of that Liberty which is peculiar to the Subject of Great-Britain, some other Method must be contrived, in Cafe of any Breach with France or Spain, to raife a public Fund in America for the Maintenance and Support of any Military Force, which may be found useful and necessary to be kept up in those Parts, in order to preserve the Ballance of Power, and protect the Trade of Britain.

For this Purpofe it is propofed, that without obftructing in the leaft any Branch of Commerce, or affecting the Property of Lands in that Part of the *Britifb* Dominions, the Duties on Stamps may be extended by Act of Parliament to all the Colonies, and the Produce applied to answer the Expence of Land Forces and other Public and necessary Services in the American Plantations, to the great Ease of the Mother State, and without

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without the Trouble of applying to the feveral Affemblies in fo many Diftinct and Independent Provinces, who never could be brought in voluntarily to raife fuch a Fund by any general and equally proportioned Tax among themfelves.

It is likewife propofed, that the feveral Kinds of Stamps to be ftruck for America fhall be different, and bear a remarkable Diffinction from those used in Great-Britain; and that there shall be one Commissioner added to the present Commission for the Stamp Office, who shall be a Member of that Board, and accountable to the same for all such Quantities of Stamps as he shall call for and receive out of that Office for the Use of the Plantations.

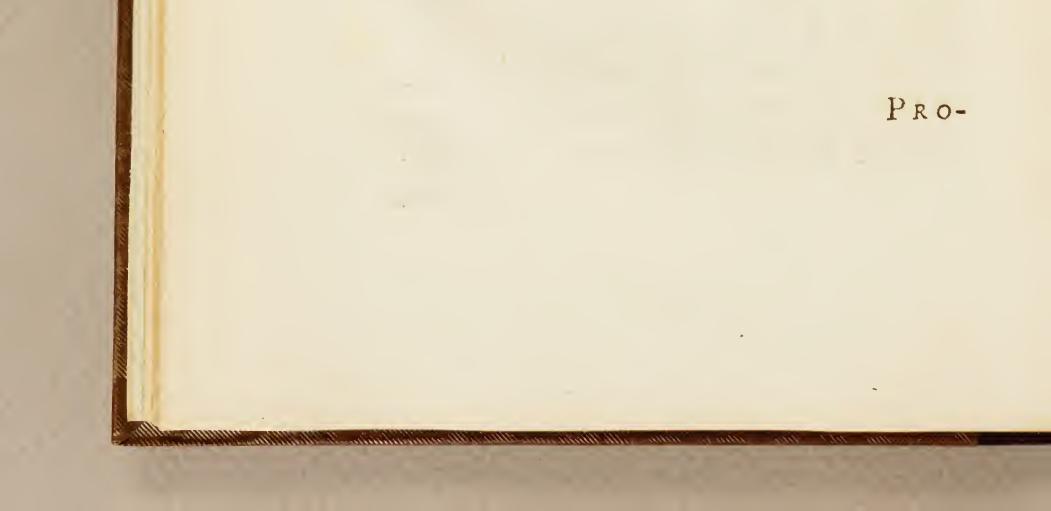
That the faid Commiffioner for America fhall receive his Inftructions from the Board at London, and be directed forthwith to proceed to every one of the Colonies in America, and there to depute fuch and fo many Perfons in each Colony, as he fhall judge needful, to refide at the most convenient Places for the delivering out all fuch Stamps as the Peo-C 2 ples

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ples Occafions may require, and are called for from Time to Time, he taking good and fufficient Security for the Fidelity of the Officers fo by him deputed, giving them at the fame Time Inftructions how and in what Manner the Money or Value of the Stamps fo by them delivered out fhall be returned to the Stamp Office at London, where all Accounts of that Revenue are to be regularly made up, and returned every Quarter, and the whole Management thereof fubmitted to the Direction of that Board from Time to Time.

That the Commiffioner for America fhall have Power to fettle the yearly Allowance or Salary to be given to the Officers his Deputies and Clerks abroad, and he be allowed for his own Trouble and Expence, which will be very confiderable in travelling from Place to Place, the Sum of

per Annum.



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REASONS, humbly offered in Support of the above Proposal to extend the Duties on Stampt Paper and Parchment all over the British Plantations.

The Author of the above Propofal disclaims, all Views of depriving the British Subjects in the Plantations, of any of those Rights and Privileges which are derived to them as natural-born Subjects of Great-Britain; but on the other Hand, he cannot confider that Part of his Majesty's Subjects Abroad to be invested with any Sort of Rights or Privileges, that are of a higher and more independent Nature than what their Brethren of Great-Britain can claim at Home. For he confiders all the American Provinces as fo many diffinct Incorporations, who, from the Accident of their distant Situation, are invested with various Privileges, effentially neceffary to their Society in separate independent Governments. But he conceives that the Subjects there, are under no other supreme Legislature but that of Great-Britain;

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Britain; infomuch that every Subject in America, as often as his Occafions require, has an indubitable Right to make his humble Application to a British Parliament, where he virtually conceives himfelf to be truly represented; because the common Interest of the British State or Commonwealth, most certainly includes the Subjects of America, equally with those of every other Part of the Dominion, and so we find it to be understood by the Tenor of the famous Act of Navigation, as well as other restrictive Acts relating to Commerce and the public Revenue.

When People therefore pretend to diftinguifh between the Intereft of the Plantations and that of *Great-Britain*, they do not advert that thefe two, from the Nature of Things, must always be the fame, even fo when the particular Intereft or Advantage of any one Colony is placed in Opposition to that of all the reft; it is quite from the Purpose, and cannot in that Light be supposed to merit the Consideration of a legislative supreme Power.

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The Grounds of the present War with Spain fufficiently declare, that it is the Interest of the British State to maintain and defend her Settlements in America. And the Condition of many Branches of the public Revenue, as well as of the national Trade, for some Time past, in like Manner demonstrate, that to promote the Interest of the Plantations in general, to extend their Settlements Westward, and protect their Trade with the Natives, is a very confiderable public Concern, worthy the Attention of the Legislature. And it being not only a received Maxim in Policy, but the peculiar Badge of a free Constitution, that every Member of a Commonwealth ought to bear his just Proportion of whatever public Taxes are needful to be raised for supporting the Rank, or improving the Interest of the State, we may equitably conclude, that fince it is evidently become necessary for Britain to erect Forts, and maintain a reasonable Number of Troops for the Defence of her Dominions in America, the Subjects there will have no just Caufe to com-

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plain, if, for that particular Service, one of the eafieft and leaft burthenfome Taxes, which the Wifdom of Parliament has thought fit to impose on the Subjects of *Great-Britain* at Home, be now extended to the Plantations in America.

Some of the Advantages that would accrue to Britain, as well as to her Colonies, by fuch an Act of Parliament, are conceived to be as follows, viz.

I. All the Colonies, but efpecially those on the Continent, would immediately and most fensibly feel the warm Influence of fuch a Protection and Support in carrying on their industrious Commerce, and extending their Settlements, as they have not hitherto had any Experience of; and it would be a mighty Encouragement for them to have annually the Occasion of observing, that the Money raised amongst

themfelves for this Service, was strictly accounted for to Parliament, and duly applied for their proper Benefit. II. It

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- II. It would put an entire Stop to all those Complaints and Disputes daily arising between the People of the Colonies and their respective Governors, about raising Forces, and otherwise complying with the Royal Instructions, in Matters which are truly beyond their Capacities, and always contradictory to their felfish and narrow Dispositions.
 - III. It would gradually, with Time, introduce amongft them a more juft and favourable Opinion of their Dependency on a Britif Parliament, than what they generally have at prefent; and as it would intitle them, on many Occafions, to feek Redrefs in Parliament, it would keep the fuperior and arbitrary Officers amongft them in fome Awe, and prevent a Multitude of injurious, oppreflive Practices, which would perhaps be thought too invidious to enumerate here.
 - IV. The Expence of Stamps would be

a very proper and eafy Cheque to that immoderate Quantity of Paper Bills D struck

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ftruck in many of the Colonies, to the Difcouragement of fair Trade, especially from *Europe*, and which no Method yet tried has been found sufficient to regulate within due Bounds.

V. It would place the united Strength of all the Colonies together into the Hands of the Crown, without affecting-their conftant and neceffary Independency on one another.

DOUGLAS, in his Summary of America, written and published at Boston, in the Year 1749, fays, "As vexatious Suits in Law are a great Nuisance in all Countries, and the smaller the Charges of Courts, the greater is the Encouragement to fuch Suits; therefore there should be a Stamp-Duly upon all Writings, or Instruments, used in Law Affairs."

Vide Vol. I. p. 259.

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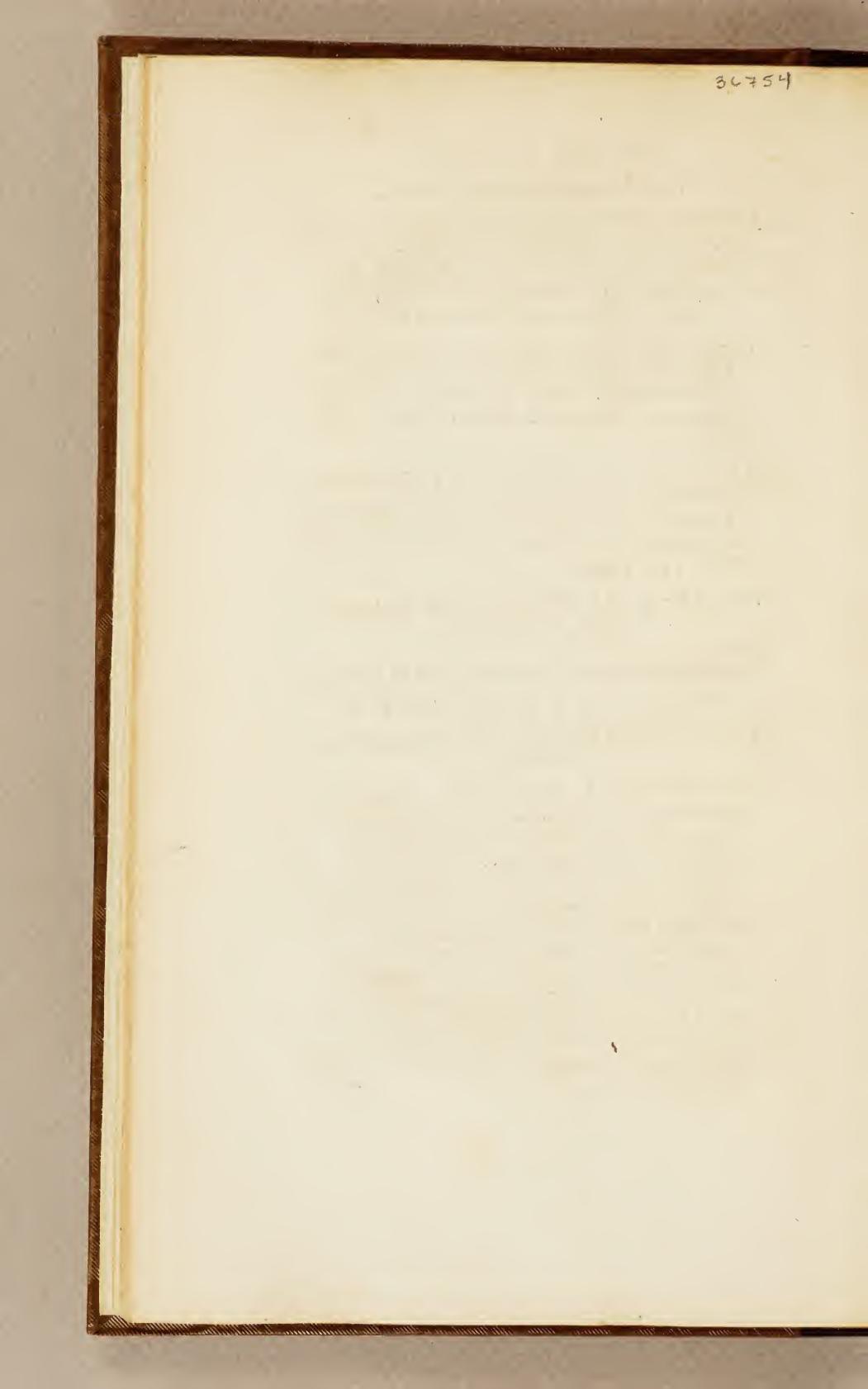
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ftating with Candour and Precifion the Defign and Tendency of each Publication. A COLLEC-TION of fuch FUGITIVE ESSAYS and PAPERS as appear during the Month, and are deemed worthy of Prefervation.





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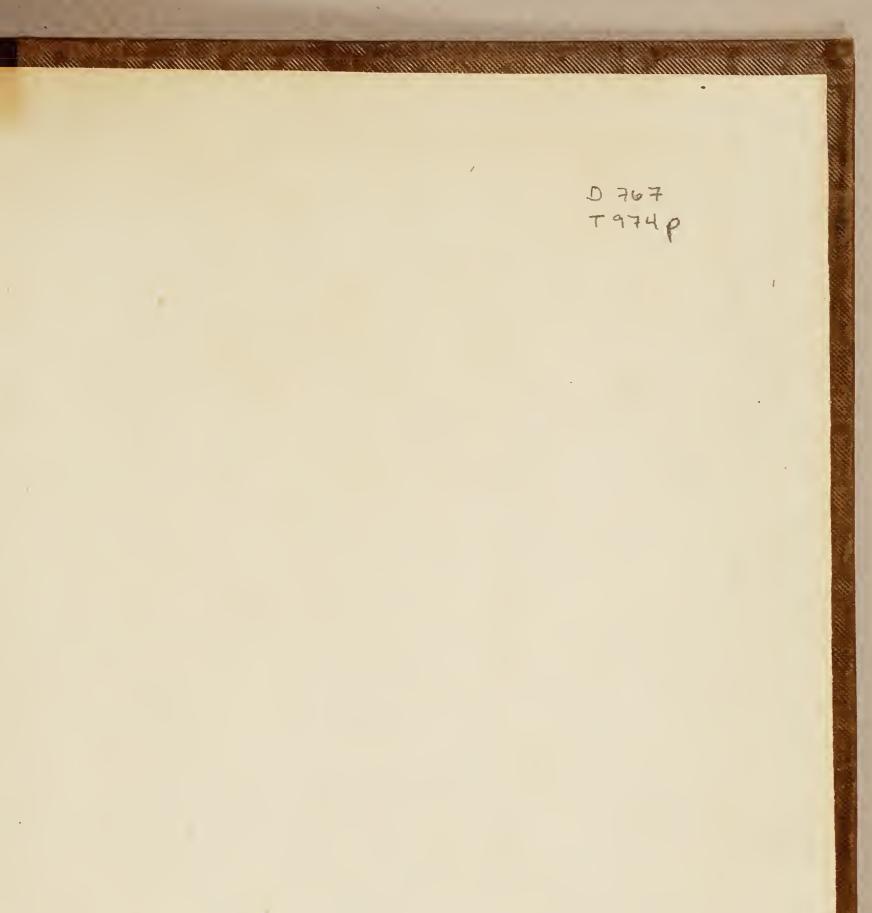
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